# True GROUNDS

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## EXPECTATION

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# MESSIAH.

In TWO LETTERS.

The One printed in the London Journal,
April the First, 1727.

The Other in Vindication of it. Being a Reply to the Answer published at the End of a late Letter to Dr. Rogers,

By PHILALETHES.

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# The True Grounds of the Expectation of the Messiah.

In TWO LETTERS.

#### LETTER I.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,



S a great deal of Pains has been taken of late, by one of great Acuteness, to examine into the Grounds and Reasons of Christianity, and to vindicate what he has said;

it may not be improper at this Season to entertain your Readers with some Considerations upon what he has suggested about the Expectation of the Jews of a Messiah to come out of their own Nation.

He allows, "That there was in and a"bout the Time of Jesus, a very great
"Expectation among the Jews of a Person
"to come, who was to redeem them by
"Arms out of the State of Misery and
"Slavery under which they groaned."
The Account that he gives of this Expectation, is, "that it has no real Foundation, is, "that it has no real Foundation in the Old Testament, and there"fore could only proceed from the Sense
"of the Oppressions they were under;
"and the same Reason, says he, bolds

" for the Continuance of that Notion." This Solution would have had fome Air of Probability, had this Author been able to produce any parallel Instance from any other Nation whatever. It was not peculiar to the Jewish Nation to be oppressed; to be harraffed by foreign Armies; to be subject to the Emperors of Rome; to be taxed, or to be plunder'd by Soldiers: Why therefore, should these Hardships raise in the Jews alone so peculiar an Expectation? Whence is it that no other Kingdom in Europe, in Asia, or in Africa, that was conquered by the Romans, or by any one else, ever expected such a Deliverer upon fuch Occasions? Had no one else any Sense of Oppression? Or what was there peculiar in the Jewish Oppressions, peculiar, I fay, to Them, which should Our taile these Hopes?

Our Author himfelf, in the Account he gives us of the State of the Expectation of a Messias among the Samaritan Jews, readily acknowledges, that " one would " think they should naturally speak" of a Messias " as a Matter of Belief and " Comfort," confidering the poor, the afflicted, the miserable State in which these People live in Sichem. And yet these Difficulties never raised any Expectation of a Temporal Messiah in them; nay, our Author declares, that to him, "the " Samaritans do not appear to have ever " been so far posses'd with the Notion of " a Messias, as to have taken up Arms un-" der the Conduct of any one who preten-" ded to that Character; tho' they have " upon diverse Occasions made Revolts " and Infurrections, and even attempted " to fet up a King among them; and " tho' by being an oppressed People, and " living all together in one Territory, " they were better qualified to fet up a " Deliverer, or Messias, than the dispers'd " Nation of the Jews were. comes it then to pass that these unhappy, oppressed Samaritans, fo much better qualified than the Jews to fet up a Deltverer, yet have never "been posses'd so far with " the Notion of a Temporal Messiah" as to attempt any thing under the Conduct of fuch a Person? This This Author conjectures, that the Saddaces were not so generally under the Expectation of the Messias as the Pharisees and Essenes were. And his Reason is, "that they pretended to adhere only to the literal Sense of the Scriptures, and to reject the allegorical and traditional "Sense thereof; upon which only the Jews cou'd justly ground their Expectations of a carnal or victorious

" Meffiah."

Whatever grounds there may be for this Conjecture, the Reason here affign'd cannot be true. For the Jews grounded their Expectations of a Temporal Deliverer upon Passages taken according to the mere Letter; and by too close adhering to That, where they ought to have understood Places figuratively, they fell into their Mistakes. But this is not what I would Those Yews who were as utter remark. Enemies to Allegories, to Traditions, to Inventions of Men, as any ever were, are, and in fact have been, as strict Believers of a Messiah as any: I mean the Caraites. These Men are scrupulously attached to the Letter of the Bible, and never explain the Scripture by Tradition, but only by the Light of Reason; by which alone they endeavour to understand the Scripture, and to draw natural and neceffary

cessary Consequences from the Law. These Men expect the Messiah as well as the other Jews; and therefore what our Author imagines, that the Expectation of a Messiah arose from allegorical and traditional Senses of Scripture, is entirely groundless. The Caraites were so much Enemies to Traditions, that they thought the Talmud to be nothing else but mere Reveries; and as they opposed the other Jews in all their groundless allegorical Notions, whence is it that These Men have found out the Notion of a Messiah, but in literal

Prophecies?

But what I would principally observe is, that the Question in Debate is not, whether the Jews expected a carnal or victorious Meffiah, or not? That may make a very proper Question betwixt Jews and Christians, viz. under what Circumstances, or in what Manner, the Messiah was to appear. But the Debate at present is, whether any such Person is prophesied of in the Old Testament at all? That is the Point to be fettled, before we can enquire whether He was to be a Temporal Prince, or a Spiritual one; it being ridiculous to debate about an Attribute, or a Property, if there be no Substance, or Being, to which fuch Property can belong. And consequently, 'tis foreign to the Queftion

flion to tell us what one uninformed few, or another, thought or faid of him in the New Testament; unless it be proved that every fewish Opinion, every Notion, which there happens to be mentioned, is true; and that every one of the fews was free from Prejudice, and understood the Old Testament according to its true

intended Meaning.

Again, allowing that the Disciples, or the Apostles themselves, had Expectations, at first, of a Temporal Messiah; and allowing too, that Josephus had no Expectation of a Messiah that should arise out of his Nation; (which last can never be proved;) and admitting too what Rabbi Hillel faid, That there was to be no Mefsias in Israel, because they had him in the Days of Hezekiah: Yet what does all this amount to against the general Belief, that there was to be a Messiah? The Apostles might have their Prejudices, which might reasonably be, and in fact were, afterwards proved to be groundless ones: · Josephus, by applying the Oracle he speaks of, whatever that was, to Vespasian, necessarily supposes that there was such an Oracle: And R. Hillel, by faying that the Jews had the Messiah in the Days of Hezekiah, supposes that there was to be one: and the Question then would be, whether

whether the Meffiah were Jesus of Nazareth, or Hezekiah, or any one else.

These Things therefore being discarded as foreign to the present Purpose; and it appearing that the Sense of the Oppressions which the Jews lay under, was not fufficient Foundation for the Expectation which the Jews had of a Messiah; we must search for the Notion in Antiquis Sacerdotum Libris, where Tacitus tells us, it was thought to be contained, i. e. in the Old Testament. There we find great Promises made by God to virtuous People; plain Predictions of future Times; Prophecies of a Time when all Nations shall be gathered unto God; when He would set up a Kingdom that should never be destroyed; when the Jews should return to their own Land, and all that fee them shall acknowledge them, that they are the Seed which the Lord hath bleffed. These and many other Prophecies are represented as to be accomplished by Means of some One particular Person, who was to reign and prosper, and execute Judgment and Justice upon Earth; whose Name was to be call'd The Lord our Righteousness; who was to have Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations, and Languages should serve him: His Dominion is an everlasting

sting Dominion, which shall not pass away; and his Kingdom that which shall

not be destroyed.

When therefore An Enquiry is made into the Grounds of the Christian Belief, no more feems to be meant but this: Have the Authors of the Old Testament prophefied of some One Person to whom God has promised a Kingdom and Dominion; and by whom God defigned to bring about fuch and fuch great Events in the World? If there be fuch Prophecies, of fuch a particular Person, this is what the Jews mean by their Messiah; whom indeed they still expect; and this is what we Christians mean when we fay, that Jesus is The Christ: He is that Person by whom God will accomplish what was spoken in the Prophets.

I cannot therefore but conclude, in direct Contradiction to what this acute and learned Author afferts, viz. That the Expectation of a Messiah had a real Foundation in the Old Testament, and did not, could not, proceed from the Sense of the Oppressions which the Jews lay under.

I am,
SIR,

Tours, &c.

PHILALETHES.

## LETTER II.

SIR,

Have carefully confidered the Answer you have been pleafed to give to the Letter which I published in the London Journal, on Saturday, April 1st, 1727. I know not whether I have a Right to fay, that the Author of The Scheme of Literal Prophecy consider'd, and the Author of the Letter to Dr. Rogers, and of the Anfwer to the Letter in the London Journal, is the same Person. The Style, the Way of Writing, the peculiar Method of of quoting Authors, and the incidental unguarded speaking of your felf as the Author of the Scheme, seem to point out so plainly the same Hand, that I think I can't be mistaken. If you are the same Person, it will not be improper to introduce what I have to fay upon this Occasion, with the Confideration of a Passage in the Scheme of Literal Prophecy consider'd: If you are not the same, I beg your Pardon for troubling you with a Paffage in which you are not concerned.

It is in the Scheme of Literal Prophecy afferted, that those against whom the Bishop writes, i.e. the Deists, " are not " concerned to name the Persons intended

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" by the Prophets; nor to fird out Mean" ing; for the Prophets, and to make those

" Meanings to be fulfilled, or else to ac-

" knowledge them to relate to a Messiah,"

p. 110. Again, p. 112. The Bishop's "Adversaries may be justly excused from

" being obliged to affign Meanings For

"the Prophets, as well as from yielding to the Meanings affigned by others." And

again, p. 124. "They are not obliged to "fhow how any Prophecy in the Old Te-

" ftament was ever fulfilled." Now,

The Defign of the prefent Controversy is to name " a Person intended by the Pro-" phets," to " find out the Meaning of the Prophets," and to urge what they have faid in fuch a Manner, that Adversaries may " yield to the Meaning affign'd " by Others," if they are not able to assign better Reasons against yielding, than can be produced for it. When a Question is started, whether there be any Prophecies of a Messiah; and Prophecies are produced out of the Old Testament; and 'tis shewn that fuch a Paffage was defign'd as a Prophecy of the Messiah, and that it agrees to Jesus of Nazareth ---- Is it reasonable for an Adverfary to fay ---- That he conceives himself "justly excused from yielding to " the Meaning of the Prophet affign'd," unless he is able to assign another, and a better

better Meaning? 'Tis faid, That Deifts may be "justly excused from being obli-" ged to affign Meanings for the Pro-" phets." Surely they are to act by these as they do by all other Books. If a Place be obscure, or unintelligible, in the Prophets, I agree that That ought not to be made the Subject and Foundation of the present, or of any, Controversy. But then I think that a Meaning may be affigned to Their Writings, as well as to other Mens: That where the Context, the Terms made use of, the Connection is intelligible; there 'tis but equitable to demand of the Deists that they yield to what is affign'd as the Meaning; just as it is reasonable to require affent to an Interpretation of a Passage of Virgil or Cicero, where the Words and natural Construction shew what it was that the Author intended; unless they can fhew that the Meaning affign'd is not the Meaning of the Author.

For my Part, I cannot but suppose it possible, that a Prophecy may be given by God; and likewise that a Person may arise, or an Event may happen, that may exactly agree to, and may be intended by, that Prophecy. When a Dispute is on soot, Whether there be any Prophecies of the Messiah? Whether there is any Foundation for supposing that such a Person as

the

the Messiah " ever literally accomplished " any Prophecy?" If any one will concern himself so far as to intermeddle in these Disputes, I think he is concern'd either to "yield to the Meanings of the Pro-" phets affign'd by others," or to shew that fuch Meanings are not intended in the Prophets. The Expression indeed made use of by the Author of The Scheme of Literal Prophecy consider'd, viz. That He is not " concern'd to find out Mean-" ings For the Prophets," would make one fuspect that he look'd upon the Prophecies of the Old Testament to be no better than the Reveries of Enthusiastic Madmen, which had really no Meaning at all; and then indeed I own he is " not " obliged to affign Meanings FOR the " Prophets, or to yield to the Meanings " affign'd by Others." But then the State of the Question is entirely chang'd; and the Dispute should not be, Whether Jesus is the Messiah, foretold by the Prophets in the Old Testament? But, Whether there be any real Prophecies at all in the Old Testament? or were the Prophets any thing else but mere Madmen? and whether what they faid had any Meaning at all?

But I will not charge you, SIR, with this Notion; I proceed immediately to

the Debate betwixt us.

I observed that the Author of the Scheme, &c. had afferted and maintained this Position, That the Expectation of a Messiah "has no real Foundation in the "Old Testament; and therefore could "ONLY proceed from the Sense of the "Oppressions they (the Jews) were under; and the same Reason," says he, "holds for the Continuance of that No-"tion." Upon this I denied that the Solution here produced had the Air of Probability; and intimated that the Author was not able to produce a parallel Instance in any other Nation whatever, who expected a Messiah from the Sense of their Sufferings.

The Answer you give is, " That no-" thing is more eafy than to give numerous " Examples in almost all Countries - of " People oppressed, who naturally cast a-" bout for Ways of Relief, giving into the " Notion of a Deliverer, according to " their Occasions for such a one; whom " they fometimes expect from Heaven, " as well as from among Men: for "ENTHUSIASM, which is frequently " raised by and joyn'd to Distress, helps " forward the Perswasion among Men, " that they shall have a Deliverer." Do not you fee, SIR, That the Position, which I faid would not account for the Notion Notion, is, that "the Expectation of a "Messiah could only proceed from a "Sense of Oppressions: "And you, to prove that That Alone wou'd account for it, now tell us that it proceeds from Enthusias m joyn'd to Distress; i.e. That proceeds from Distress, and something else, which proceeds only from Distress.

But you name an Instance as parallel to that of the Jews. "The Huguenots, "who were expelled France, soon fell " into the Expectation, that they should " be restored and resettled in their native " Country; and fome of them pitched on " the Prince of Orange for their De-" liverer, whom they then thought they " faw clearly mark'd out to them in the " Bible. " The Difference of the Cases feems to me fo clear, that I can't but wonder you should mention the Instance of these Huguenots as parallel to that of the Jews. The one is the Case of Persons at Home, in their own Country, not under any eminent or remarkable Distress, universally, or at least, generally expecting a Redeemer: The other, of Persons bitterly persecuted, drove from Home, naked, and in the utmost Want, turning their Eyes upon a Person, who was look'd upon, as having Common Principles of Religion,

Religion, and a known Enmity to the King of France, and in point of common Politicks, was likely to take upon himself their Defence: And if any were so solish as to look into the Bible for Marks of the Prince of Orange, they were very few; it was not done generally, much less universally. And what is principally to be observed is, that now the Person from whom they expected immediate Deliverance is dead, they do not continue to look out for Another, as the Jews still do, and have done constantly, even where they are, or have been, no more oppressed than the French Refugees are now.

You go on, and tell us, that " the " Jews were an Enthusiastic People, " thinking themselves Favourites of Hea-" ven. - They have not only the common " Cause of other Men to set up the Ex-" pectation of a Deliverer, but to be " more ftrongly possessed with it than o-" thers; and as continuing under the " greatest Oppressions, to continue under " that Expectation: And accordingly, " from the Time that they got into their " Heads their most extravagant, un-" grounded, and chimerical Notion of a " Deliverer, they have been more agreed " and fixed in that Expectation, (for they " were not unanimous in that Expectation

"till many Centuries after Jesus) under numerous and great Disappointments, and the utmost Hardships and Sufferings, for acting in pursuance of their Expectations of a Deliverer. Of whom it is to be observed, that they have often changed their Ideas in respect to his Birth, Family, Country, and Time of his Appearance, --- and have been sted- fast in no Part of his Character, but that of a Warrior, who is to lead them to Jerusalem, and set up a Jewish Kingdom, and Worship in a new Temple, which he is to build."

To all this I reply,

First, That this is no Answer to any thing in my Letter: It concerns Enthusiasm joined to a Sense of Oppressions; of which it was impossible that I should speak, because the Author whom I was resuting, had not spoke a Word about this Matter. But however, this New Hypothesis will not account for the Difficulty. For,

Secondly, Supposing that where Enthusiasm and Oppressions meet, there the Effects you mention will follow; yet you are to prove, what you all along take for granted, and what I do deny, viz. that the Jews at our Saviour's Time (when

you allow this Expectation to have been) acted upon these Principles; or that Enthusias join'd to their Distresses was the Cause of their Expectation at that Time. For if their Prophets did really speak of some one particular Person, who was to deliver the Jews, and to set up a Kingdom among them, then what you call Endown

thusiasm, will be strictly rational.

Thirdly, It is not yet proved, nor I think can be proved, that, at the Time you fix for the beginning of the Notion of a Messiah, the Jews were under such great Oppressions, fuch mighty Hardships and Sufferings. Jerusalem indeed had been taken by Pompey about fixty three or fixty four Years before Jesus was born; but still the Jews were under no particular Oppressions. Fosephus mentions several Decrees made in Favour of the whole Jewish Nation, not only those Jews who lived at Alexandria, but in Judea. Cafar's Letters are extant, wherein the Jews are discharged from Publick Payments; and they are admitted to be Friends to the Romans. Marc. Antony treated them as his dear Friends and Allies; and ordered them Satisfaction for the Mischief they had fuffered under C. Cassius. Herod was in high Favour with Augustus and Antony: And Augustus's Decrees in their Favour C 2

Favour are recorded by their own Historian. They had paid no Tributes, no Taxes to Rome, when the Notion of a Messiah, according to your own Account of it, was first started; and they were govern'd by their own Princes, and by their own Laws. So that a Sense of Oppression could not be the Cause of this Expectation was general at Jesus's Birth, when no great Hardships had been put upon that Nation; and consequently, this Effect is not owing to the Cause you assign.

But put the Case that the Jews were an oppressed People, at the Time when you fay this Notion of a Messiah began, and add that they were as much possessed with the Notion as you please; yet it is no where to be parallel'd in any Hiftory, that Enthusiasm joyn'd with Distress has worked in this one particular Way upon People for seventeen or eighteen bundred Years together, and constantly made them expect their Deliverer. Will neither Ease nor Plenty alter the Circumstance in the least? Will no Appearances of Persons who have assumed the Characters of the Meffiah cure them? No Disappointment make them relinquish a Notion which has no better Foundation than the Tewish Expectation, according to your Solution,

Solution, has? This is fuch a Phænomenon, that I might justly ask, as I ask again, What is there so peculiar in the Jewish Oppressions which should raise such incurable Hopes, which neither freedom from Oppressions, nor very frequent Failures in those who have pretended to be

their Messiah, can ever root out?

Fourthly, You say, that the Jews " were not unanimous in the Expectation " [of a Messiah] till many Centuries after " Jesus." This is afferted by you, but not proved; nor do I think that you can prove it. It was not indeed made an Article of their Creed, " till many Centuries " after Jesus: " But notwithstanding that, R. Albo, who denied it to be a Fundamental Article, yet believed it to be a true one; and his Expression was, He that denied the Messiah was guilty of but a little Breach of the Law. If you are able to cite an Instance of One who said the Messiah was already come, viz. in Hezekiah's Days, yet that will not prove that the Hews were not as unanimous then, as at any other Time: i. e. there were always. and always will be, some particular Perfons, who for one Reason or other will be singular in their Notions. As no one ever intended to plead for so absolute and strict an Unanimity as to comprehend every particular

ticular few, without the Exception of any One; when you say, they were not unanimous in their Expectation till many Centuries after fesus, you might as truly have said, that they are not now, that they never were, nor never will be unanimous. But this would be too much playing upon the Word Unanimous.

Lastly, 'Tis nothing to the Purpose to fay, that the " Jews have often changed " their Ideas in respect to the Messiah's " Birth, Family and Country." For admitting this to be true, yet they have always agreed in this, to expect their Mes-Those Fews expect him, who live in England and Holland, free from any Hardships or Oppressions, as well as those, and as much as those, who live in Spain and Portugal, under the Horrors of the Inquifition. And if they have changed their Ideas in respect to some Circumstances, yet still nothing makes them change their Expectation of that Person of whom their Prophets have spoken.

You proceed thus in your Answer.

"You attack the Solution," [viz. that the Expectation of a Messiah arises from the Sense of Oppressions] "from the Case of the Samaritans; but in such a Manner, "that I do not pretend to understand you." I'll endeavour to explain my Meaning.

The

The Author of the Scheme, &c. gives the "State of the Expectation of a Mes-" fias among the Samaritans" in this " In Jesus's time it should feem manner. "that they generally expected a Messiah:" That no mention is made of any Notion or " Expectation of " any Messias" in the Samaritan Chronicon; which reaches down (fays that Author) to the 628th of Jesus: [This is a Mistake, for it does not reach down fo far by above 400 Years: But this by the by. That in Answer to the Letter wrote by Scaliger to them, They only say, " Petijsti de Messia. Quod est " nomen ejus apud nos, nisi Hascheab? Et " quis boc intelligit nisi Dominus?" That " they never were so far possessed with the " Notion of a Messiah, as to take up Arms " under the Conduct of any one who pre-" tended to that Character:" That they were " an oppressed People, and living al-" together in one Territory, they were " better qualified to set up a Messias, " than the dispers'd Nation of the Jews " were."

This, SIR, is the Account of the State of the Expectation of the Messiah amongst the Samaritans: And your Solution of that Expectation among the Jews being, that it could arise only from the Sense of their Oppressions, I reason'd thus, --- The Samaritans

maritans were an oppressed People as well as the Jews: The fame Caufes will naturally produce the same Effects; and consequently Sense of Oppression would operate upon the Samaritans in the same manner as it did upon the Jews. The Samaritans had made "upon divers Occasions, " Revolts and Infurrections, and even at-" tempted to fet up a King among them." The Yews have made many Revolts likewife. How comes it then to pass that the Samaritans, the oppressed Samaritans, I'll add now, the Enthusiastic distressed Samaritans, fo much better qualified than the Jews to set up a Deliverer, have never " acted in pursuance of their Expectations " of a Deliverer," as the Jews have? How is it that the People that are confessed to have the same Principles, and better Opportunities to put them into Practice, yet never have attempted any thing under the Conduct of fuch a Person?

Your Answer is, "Certainly they might "expect a Messiah, and yet not rise up "in Arms under the Conduct of a Messiah." This is certainly a good Answer upon the Supposition of their founding their Expectation upon other Grounds: But if their Expectation arises only from the Sense of Oppression, or from Enthusias in join'd to Distress, 'tis unaccountable that

that it should never operate upon them under all their "Revolts, Infurrections, " and Attempts to fet up a King," as it has worked upon other People who have had the fame Notion, i. e. the fame Caufe; that in Seventeen Hundred Years a Caufe should never once produce its natural Effect; that if their constant Expectation was of a Deliverer near at hand, as you call it, that no one should assume the Character of their Messiah in so long a time. I add, that, allowing Enthusiasm joined to Distress to be a very active Principle, and supposing it will make Men expect a Deliverer near at hand; yet it is not to be conceiv'd, that for fo many Years together it should continue to operate upon any Nation. The Huguenots might be perfuaded that the Prince of Orange would be their present Deliverer; yet does the Expectation still continue of another Deliverer, who should do what the Prince of Orange did not? The strongest Enthusiasm is not more wild and extravagant, than fuch a Solution feems to me to be.

You proceed next to examine this Affertion of mine, viz. That the Expectation of a Temporal Deliverer was grounded upon Passages in the Old Testament taken according to the mere Letter, and that by too close adhering to the

mere

mere Letter they fell into their Mistakes. Your Answer to this is in these Words.

"You offer no Proof of this Fact, nor can you produce any Proof thereof: For it does not appear, that the Jews had any fuch Expectation for several Centuries after the Books of the Old Testament were published; or that they made any false Interpretations of the Old Testament; or mistook it about that Matter. If they did, be pleased to produce those mistaken In-

" terpretations, as Proofs of your Affer-" tion. " Besides, I do not see what reason " you have for affigning the Hypothesis of interpreting the Bible according to " the mere Letter, without regard to the " Sense of Places, as the ground of the " Jews Expectation. I deny-that the Jews went antiently on that Scheme. -Would it not be abfurd to make " the Jews to have argued originally " for a Messiah, and to have used all " those ridiculous Interpretations they " have done fince the Expectation of a " Meffiah became fixed and rooted a-" mong them, unless you cou'd actually " fix fuch Interpretations originally upon

" them?"

In reply to this I must observe, First, That the Jews in our Saviour's Time plainly expected a Messiah; and they founded their Expectation upon the Books of the Old Testament. The Virgin Mary favs, Luke i. 54, 55. He bath holpen his Servant Ifrael in remembrance of his Mercy, as he spake to our Fathers, to Abraham, and to his Seed for ever. Zacharias fays, v. 69, &c. God has raised up an Horn of Salvation in the House of his Servant David: As he spoke by the Mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the World began: to perform the Mercy promis'd to our Fathers, and to remember his holy Covenant: the Oath which he swore to our Father Abraham that he wou'd grant unto us. When our Saviour was born, the chief Priefts and Pharifees from a Text of the Old Testament told Herod where the Christ was to be born, namely in Bethlehem of Judah; for thus it is written by the Prophet, And thou Bethlehem of Judah art not the least among the Princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come a Governor that shall rule my People. You must own, that these People founded their Expectation of a Messiah, (whether right or wrong is not the Question at present) upon the Old Testament.

Secondly, It is agreed by both of us, that the Jews expected that their Messiah would be a Temporal Prince; one that was to redeem them by Arms from that state of Subjection under which they were. This too they founded upon the Old Testament, as appears very clearly from what Zacharias says concerning Jesus, that he was the Person spoken of by the Prophets, who should save Israel from their Enemies, and from the Hand of all that hated

them, Luke i. 71.

Thirdly, You have fixed the beginning of this Expectation " about our Sa-" viour's Time:" and it has been just now shewn, that the Jews at that Time grounded it upon the Old Testament. The Jews therefore argued Originally for a Messiah from Passages in the Old Testament, supposing your own Account of the Origin of this Expectation to be When therefore you argue, that one ought to produce Instances how the " Jews argued originally for a Messiah:" and observe, that "Men, when once " poffes'd with a Notion, may think " they fee it every where, and find it " out in Places that give not the least " Colour for it; but they do not natu-" rally fall into fo much Abfurdity at the " first broaching a false Notion."--When When you reason thus, you seem to forget that their Interpretations are as old as the Origin of the Expectation of a Temporal Messiah, and are Evidences how the Jews argued originally for a Messiah, according to your own Hypothesis. But,

Fourthly, I said that the Jews grounded their Expectation of a Temporal Deliverer upon Passages taken according to the mere Letter. Your Answer is, that I "can't produce any Proof thereof." The reason of your Assertion is, "FOR it does not appear that the Jews had any fuch Expectation for several Centuries after the Books of the Old Testament "were published."

The contrary to this appears to be true; for the Prophet Malachi lived but 400 Years, or thereabouts, before Christ: and instantly after Christ's Time this Expectation is called an Old and constantly received Opinion among the Jews. (VETUS & constans Opinio, are the Words of Suetonius.) Now if it were an OLD Opinion just after Christ's Death, and there were but 400 Years from Malachi to Jesus, how did "seward Centuries" pass after the Books of the Old Testament were published before this Expectation began? However, supposing what you say to be true, 'tis

no Argument against what I had affirmed: For let the Jews have had the Expectation of a Temporal Deliverer, when the Books of the Old Testament were first published; or let it be many Centuries after; 'tis all one in respect to what I said, viz. That they founded their Expectation upon the Letter of the Old Testament. I have proved, that at the time fixed by your felf for the Origin of their Expectation, they argued from Passages of the Old Testament: and to you that ought to be fufficient. You go on thus, " It does not appear that the Jews made " any false Interpretations of the Old " Testament, or mistook it about that " matter." If they argued originally from it, as has been shewn according to your own Scheme, and did not mistake the Old Testament as you say, then you must allow their Interpretations to be true; and their Expectations to be founded upon true Interpretations of the Old Testament, and not to have arose from the Sense of their Oppressions.

Lastly, Whereas you say, you do not see any reason "for assigning the Hypo-"thesis of interpreting the Bible according to the mere Letter, without regard to the Sense of Places, as the Ground of the Jews Expectation." I answer.

The Fews expected a Temporal Deliverer; and this was grounded upon the Old Testament. The Prophets had declared from God, that David (many Years after David, the Son of Jesse, was dead) should be their Prince for ever, Ezek. xxxvii. 35. This, and fuch other Places. was understood of a Temporal Kingdom, and a Temporal Messiah, as implying, that God would, literally, give unto him the Throne of his Father David, and he should reign over the House of Jacob for ever, and of his Kingdom there Should be no End, Luke i. 32, 33. They argued rightly, and understood the Prophet right, that the Messiah was to reign for ever. But then they imagined, that because he was to reign for Ever, therefore he was never to die. And this was the reason that the Fews answered our Saviour when he talked of his Death: We have heard out of the Law, that Christ abideth for Ever : How fayest thou, The Son of Man must be lift up? John xii. 34. They took the Words of the Prophets in the first and obvious Sense, without regard to the real and true Sense intended by Him that inspired the Prophets, and without confidering how God would make the Messiah reign for Ever, and yet die. This naturally led them

were guilty of. And hence it was that the Disciples of our Lord ask, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel? Acts i. 6. imagining that the Messiah's Kingdom was to be such a Kingdom as David's was: and that Jesus was then to continue with them.

You see, SIR, an Instance of one of the "mistaken Interpretations" of the Jews, and that founded on what I call the mere Letter. Because David, i. e. their Messiah so called, was to reign for ever, therefore they imagined that their Messiah was never to die, but was to abide for ever: He was to abide with them, as they thought, and reign over them as David did; but with this difference, that the Messiah was to continue for ever with them, whereas David reigned but 40 Years.

However, imagine that I was mistaken in what I took to be the ground of the Jews Expectation: It was a mere Incident; and what I did not insist upon, nor does it affect the Question in Debate. The Author of the Scheme, &c. had laid it down, that the Allegorical and Traditional Sense of Scripture "was the only "one, upon which the Jews could justly "ground their Expectations of a carnal "or victorious Messiah." In answer to this

Ijust observed, that the Jews by adhering too close to the Letter sell into their Mistakes. However, that was not what I intended as an Answer; but this: That the Caraites, who were utter Enemies to all Allegorical and Traditional Senses of Scripture, expect the Messiah, as well as other Jews: From whence the Inserence is very clear, That these Men sound out the Notion of a Messiah, not in allegorical, mystical Interpretations, but in Literal Prophecies.

To this you answer, "That this will not in the least serve my purpose, to prove that any Jews anciently sounded ed their Expectation of a Messiah on the mere Letter of the Bible; or that the Caraites, who seem a very modern

"Separation from the Jews, did so."
How the Jews anciently acted in this Affair has been already shewn. That the Caraites are not a modern Separation from the Jews, as you affert, take these Authorities. Wolfius, in his Presace to his Notitia Karaorum, p. 7. tells us, that Caraism was in being many Years before the Birth of Christ. And p. 3. that the Scribes in the New Testament, were chiefly Caraites: That Orobio (the Jew that had the samous Controversy with Limborch) was wont to say, that

our Saviour himself was a Caraite, as
(a) Trigland tells us. Monsieur Basnage fays, (b) That the Origin of the Caraites is older than that of the Sadduces. Again, (b) We find the true Origin of the Caraites, who began to appear under this Prince, Ptolomy Philometor: And then he explains feveral Passages of the New Testament, as relating to them. Scaliger thought them older than the Sadduces: Karaim priores tempore sunt quam Sadducæi. I acknowledge that F. Simon places them no higher than the Eighth Century. But then he does this only from the Authority of the Rabbinical Jews, who are as bitter Enemies and as gross Abusers of the Caraites as ever lived. (c) If one considers, fays he, the Histories which have been wrote by the Rabbins, one Shall find, that those who have Spoke most exactly, have not put the Origin of Caraism higher than the Eighth Century. But then

(b) Hiftoire des Juifs, Li. 2. c. 8.

(b) Nous trouvons là la veritable origine des Caraites, qui commencerent a paroitre sous ce Prince, Ptolomee Philometor. Basnage Hift des Quifs. lib. 2. c 9.

<sup>(</sup>a) Diatribe de Secta Carzorum, p. 215. er p. 66.

<sup>(</sup>c) Si l'on fait Reflexion sur les Histoires qui ont ete ecrites par les Rabbins, on trouvera, que ceux qui ont parlè le plus exactement, n'ont rapporte l'origine du Caraisme q'au viii. Siecle. Hift. Crit. du Vieux Teft. I. I. C. 29.

Trigland, in his Diatribe De Secta Carcorum, has defended Scaliger against Father Simon and Morinus, and has proved his Point beyond all Dispute. And Wolfius, who has Republished Trigland, has maintained the fame Notion. Dr. Wotton (d) has proved, that the Caraites are as old as the Maccabees; and infifts, that the Scribe that is (e) mentioned, Matt. xxii. 34. was a Caraite. I refer the curious Reade to Trigland's Differtation upon this Subject, who inquired more into, and certainly understood better, the History and Notions of the Caraites, than any other Person whatever. See also Wolfius's Notitia Karcorum.

This may fuffice to shew, how groundless your Affertion is, that the Caraites are a modern Separation from the Jews. I shall next consider the Reasons you have assigned, why the Caraites did not found their Expectation of the Messiah

upon the Letter of the Law.

Your first is, that I "quote no Ca"raite Books (which are all Modern,
"and withal so few, that the Jews speak
"of the Caraites as Dumb Dogs, who
have published no Books) to shew their
"Method of interpreting the Bible, in

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" re-

(e) Ibid. p. 78.

<sup>(</sup>d) Wotton's Miscellaneous Discourses, Vol. 1. p. 81, 89.

" relation to the Matter of the Messiah:

" without producing which, you fay, I

" have no Right to conclude, they did

" proceed in interpreting the Bible according to the mere Letter, and to have

" cording to the mere Letter, and to have been ferupulously attached to that."

I own I quoted no Caraitish Book: and the reason was, that I thought their Method of interpreting Scripture fo well known, that it was perfectly unnecessary. However, I will fupply that Defect as foon as I have observed, I. That the Abuses, and ill Names that the Rabbinical Jews cast upon these People, are not to be regarded: They hate them to fuch a Degree, that they will never (a) intermarry with them, how advantageous soever the Match might prove. (b) They will not continue together in the same Place: Nay, the Rabbins carry their Aversion so far, as very rarely to admit any Caraite as (c) a Proselyte; and have a Proverb among them, That a Caraite ought to become a Mahometan, or a Christian, before he can be receiv'd amongst the Rabbinical Jews. If therefore the Rabbins call these Men Dumb Dogs, or use eyen worse Expressions concerning

<sup>(</sup>a) La Republique des Heb. lib. 3, c. 8. Basnage Hist. des Juiss. Lib. 2. c. 9.
(b) Ibid.
(c) Ibid.

them, yet when one Sect professes such open Hatred to another, what they fay is not to be regarded, unless we have very good collateral Evidence. 2. When you fay that THE Jews speak of the Caraites as Dumb Dogs, you should have said that ONE Few, viz. Rabbi Abraham Ben Dior, fpeaks of them in that manner; for his Words do not imply that That is the common Appellation of them among the Rabbinical fews. His Words are (d) The Hereticks, i.e. Caraites, never did any good to Ifrael, nor have they published ANY Book to confirm the Law, nor any Word of Wisdom, no not one Song, nor any one Lesson of Comfort: but they are all Dumb Dogs, they cannot bark. Which are so many Lies told of these People; for they have wrote feveral Books of feveral forts, as is fully shown by Wolfins, and others.

To shew you now upon what Grounds I said that these Men are scrupulously attached to the Letter of the Bible, and never explain the Scripture by Tradition, but only by the Light of Reason, by which alone they endeavour to understand

<sup>(</sup>d) Hæretici, [Caraitæ] nihil unquam boni Israeli præstiterunt, nec librum ediderunt ullum ad Legem confirmandum, aut verbum Sapientiæ, etiam ne Canticum unum, vel Solatium unum; sed omnes ipsi Canes Muti,
non possunt latrare. Wolfius Præf. ad Notitiam Caræorum, p 4.

the Scripture, I will cite feveral Authors who were well acquainted with their Dr. Cudworth fays, (e) that Books. they reject all Talmudical Traditions which are not grounded on Scripture. Again, They have rejected the fond Traditions of the Pharifees. Father Simon fays, that the Caraites (f) by their very Name pretended that they had truer and better Sentiments of Religion than the other [ Tews ] whom they accused to have in a fort abandoned the Word of God, to follow the Glosses of the Rabbins. And again, (g) they examine with Care the Text of Scripture. They always bring into their Aid their Reason, which judges if the Consequences which they draw from Scripture follow necessarily and directly; and if what is called Tradition be really such; and whether it has ever been interrupted. Monsieur Basnage expresses it thus, They are scrupulously attached to the Text of the Scripture (a).

(e) Cudworth on the Lord's Supper, p. 41. ibid. p. 64.
(f) Pretendirent fair voir par la, qu'ils avoient des Sentiments de la Religion plus epurés que les autres, qu'ils accuserent d'avoir en quelque facon abandonnée la Parole de Dieu pour suivre les Glosses des Docteurs. Hist.

Critique du Vieux Testam. p. 160.

(g) Ils examinent avec application le Texte de l'Ecriture: — ils font toujours venir au secours leur Raison, qui juge si les consequences qu'on tire de l'Ecriture suivent necessairement & immediatement, & si ce qu'on nomme Tradition est tel en effet, & s'il n'a jamais ete interrompu. Ibid. pag. 163.

(a) Ils font scrupuleusement attachez au Texte de l'E-

criture. Histo. Juifs. 1. 2. c. 8.

And again, (b) They do not explain the Scripture by Tradition, but only by the Light of Reason, which serves them to understand the Words of Scripture, and to draw natural and necessary Consequences from the Law. As clear and as strong as these Testimonies are, that you may not pretend that I quote no Caraite Book in order to shew their way of interpreting the Bible, I'll give you one Quotation from a Caraitish Author.

(c) The Caraites have explain'd the Law according to its literal, simple, and true Sense, which doth not contradict sound Reason.

From these and many such Authorities, I concluded that the Caraites rejected all Allegorical and Traditional Senses of Scriptures. Now if, as you say, Allegorical and Traditional Senses of Scripture are the Only ones upon which the Jews cou'd ground the Expectation of a Messiah, I think I may fairly ask, How came these Caraites by their Notion of a Messian senses.

(b) Ils n'expliquent point l'Ecriture par la Tradition, mais seulement par la lumiere de la Raison, qui leur sert a entendre les paroles de l'Ecriture, & a tirer de la Loi les consequences naturelles & necessaires. Ibid.

(c) Illi [Caræi] explicarunt Legem secundum sensum literalem simplicem ac verum qui cum sana ratione non pugnet. Wolfius Notitia Caræorum, p. 72. See also Trigland's Differtation, where many Quotations to this purpose are made.

fish? Whence cou'd they have it but from Literal Interpretations of Prophecies? If they had it not from thence, be pleased to assign some other Source of this Expectation, consistent with their avowed Principles.

Your Second Reason to prove me mistaken about the Caraites is this, "The

" Caraites can't be faid to be great Ene" mies to the Inventions of Men, when

" they pretend to ground the Expectation of a Temporal Messiah, which is a mere

" Invention of Men, on the Scripture.

" And I wonder how you can ask, whence

" the Caraites have found out the Notion of a Messiah but in literal Prophe-

" cies? And how you can speak of them

" as Men interpreting the Scripture by the

" Light of Reason, when even you must

" allow, that there is no Foundation for their Messiah in the literal Prophe-

" cies, that is, in the Prophecies under-

" flood in their primary Sense, in the

" Sense intended by the Prophets; and

" when the Hypothesis of the mere Let-

" ter is, according to you, a false Hypo-

" thesis for interpreting the Bible, as leading the Jews into their mistaken Belief

" of a temporal Messiah?"

How far the Caraites are "Enemies "to the Inventions of Men," is plain from this, that they have their Name from

from hence, because (a) rejecting Traditions they tenaciously adhere to the written Law alone. But notwithstanding that avowed Enmity, it does not follow but that the Caraites may be mistaken as well as other Men. However, the Instance of the Caraites is strong against you, because you said, that the Allegorical and traditional Sense of Scripture was that, upon which only the Jews cou'd justly ground their Expectations of a carnal or victorious Messiah; whereas these Men expected a Messiah, who yet rejected all allegorical and traditional Senses of Scriptures.

You wonder how I can "fpeak of "them as Men interpreting the Scripture" by the Light of Reason, when I must "allow that there is no Foundation" (you mean, I suppose no just and real Foundation) "for their Messiah in the literal "Prophecies, i. e. in the Prophecies understood in their primary Sense, in the "Sense intended by the Prophets." I am so far from not allowing what you

(a) Rejectis traditionibus naregnaegebrois foli legi scriptæ tenaciter adherescunt. Trigland Diatribe, c. 2.

Karæi Talmudicam traditionum farraginem—non admittunt, in solo sacro Codice acquiescentes. Wolfius Præf.

Karzos in exponenda Scriptura, relictis fabulis, fensum literalem, & ex visceribus contextus deducendum sectari. ibid. p. 5.

fay,

fay, I must not allow; that on the contrary, I do allow that "there is Founda-" tion (fuch as it is) for their Messiah" in the literal Prophecies; nay, I fay that by too close adhering to the Letter all their Mistakes are owing. The Sense intended by God that inspired the Prophets, is certainly the real Sense of the Prophecies: the literal Sense, which I am here speaking of, is that which the mere Letter holds forth, and may in many cases be a false one, as not being the real Sense intended by God. Literal Prophecies are opposed to Prophecies interpreted mystically throughout the present Debate: and confequently the Caraites, who reject all mystical Interpretations, must ground their Expectations on Literal Prophecies. But then the Literal Sense is either proper, or improper: The improper Sense, is what the Words themselves in their common Acceptation fignify, tho' the Speaker does not intend that Signification. The proper or real Literal Sense is that which the Author intends, whether he uses Words in their common Signification, or whether he uses figurative Expressions. The Jews therefore grounded their Expectation upon Literal Prophecies, in Opposition to My. flical: and at the same time mistook the ImproImproper, for the Proper, Literal Sense. The Hypothesis therefore as you call it of the mere Letter, or the Improper literal Sense, is a salse Hypothesis for interpreting the Bible; and yet still to pursue the Proper literal Sense, or the Sense intended by the Author, is what is right, and what affords sufficient grounds to expect the Messiah.

Your Third Reason is introduced with several Mistakes. You say "John Lewis" Frey, Professor of Basil, made some "Extracts from a Comment made by a "Caraite Author on the Pentateuch," which Extracts are extant in Ma-"nuscript in the Library of the Fathers" of the Oratory at Paris." The Comment itself from whence the Extracts are taken is indeed in that Library; but Frey's Extracts were published by himself to the World, and never were in that Library you mention.

You go on, "From which Extracts, "which were communicated to Wolfius of Hamburgh by the Favour of Father "Le Long of the Oratory, he, i.e. Wol- fius, gives an Account of the Method which the Caraite Author pretends to use in his Interpretation of Scripture." Those Extracts, as I said, were pub-

lish'd by Frey: Le Long never "com-

" municated them to Wolfius." But being Library Keeper admitted Professor Frey to the Books. But this by the by.

From these Extracts from the Book entitled Mubchar, or the Election, you tell us that the Caraites really do use and pay " a Regard to Allegories and Tradi-"tions," tho' they "pay a less Regard than the Other Jews."

My Answer to this is in the Words of Basnage, who mentioning an Objection from the Caraites using the Points of the Masoreths, which are founded on Traditions, fays, (a) 'Tis to play with the Term Tradition, to prove that the Caraites make use of it, because they make use of Points. And again, (b) They acknowledge but Two Lights to conduct themselves in Religion: The one is the Lamp of Scripture; the other that of the Understanding: They never explain Scripture by Tradition, &c. If you'll take a Caraite's Word for this, take it as 'tis cited by Trigland in Wolfius's Edition, p. 285. in the other Edition, p. 153. (c) and with that

(b) Ibid. (c) Laudabilis interpretandi Scripturas apud eos lex obtinet, ut Rationem quidem adhibeant, tanquam scrutinii instrumentum Ipsas vero literas Sanctas, & dictata Pro-

phetarum

<sup>(</sup>a) C'est de jouer du Term de Tradition, que de prouver aux Caraites qu'ils s'en servent, parce qu'ils ont adopte les points. Basnage Hist. des Juifs. 1. 2. c. 8.

that take likewise Trigland's Opinion. His Words are, They have a commendable Rule of interpreting Scripture: They use Reason as the Instrument in their Searches, but the Scriptures and the Declarations of the Prophets as their Touchstone and fole Foundation. The Caraite is R. Eliabu in Adderet, who fays, (d) Every Interpretation, whose Truth is found out by Reasoning and Deduction, if it agrees with the Words of the Prophets, we fay of it that our Enquiry is true, because the Conclusion agrees to Truth. The Light of the Law and the Light of the Understanding, are, as it were, Two Lights in our Hands.

The Caraite whom Trigland wrote to, and whom Wolfius has published, tells us how far they admit Traditions. Where, says he, there is a perfect Unanimity, (e)

there

phetarum ut lapidem Lydium & unicum fundamentum.

Triglandii Diatribe.

(d) Omnis Expositio cujus veritas eruitur ope ratiocinii ex uno aliud inferentis, si cum Dictis Prophetiæ conspirat de ea dicemus, nostrum Scrutinium est verum Scrutinium, queniam ejus conclusio consentit veritati. Suntq; velut duæ Lampades in duabus manibus nostris Lucerna Legis

nostræ, & Lucerna intellectus nostri. Ibid.

(e) Constat traditionem omnem eandem in ore omnium Traditionariorum esse debere, ita ut omnes eam profiteantur. Quæres si ita haberet, nos quoq; in illa inniteremur, e recumberemus, sicut acquiescimus in traditione nostra quæ a doctoribus nostris p. m. vocatur onus hereditate acceptum, doctrina continua serie ad nos deducta. Wolfius's Notitia Karee

there they receive them; and they reject the Rabbinical Traditions, because one says one thing, another, another. Whereas were they unanimous, we also would acquiesce and rely upon them, as we acquiesce in our Tradition, which is called by our Teachers, an hereditary Burden, and a Doctrine uninterruptedly derived to us.

I leave the Reader now to judge, whether fince the Caraites expect the Messiah, there must not be another Ground for that Expectation, besides the Allegorical and Traditional Sense of Scripture; which, according to you, is the ONLY Ground of such a Notion.

But before I have done with this Matter, I must take Notice of your Conclusion about these People. They have a Notion about the Delay of the Coming of the Messiah, which you refuse to determine whether they sounded it upon Reason or on Scripture. They say, as you tell us, "the

Karaorum, p. 69, 70. V. Wolfius's Note upon this Place. It is the same with Vincentius's Rule, Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus. Basnage at large shews, that as Protestants cannot be said to admit Tradition, because they explain a Passage as St Jerom has explained it, or because they kneel at the Lord's Prayer, the Jesus Christ has not commanded it; so the Caraites are not to be charged with admitting Tradition, because they receive the Points invented by the Masoreths. The Caraites do Two things, I Ils rejettent les Dogmes importans, qu'on a adjoutez a la Loi, qui est suffisante pour le Salut. 2. Ils ne veulent pas qu'on egale les Traditions indisferentes a la loi. Histoir. des Yuiss. 1. 2. c. 8.

" the coming of the Messiah is delayed be-" cause of the slow Motion of Saturn, " which is the Star of the Sabbath, and of " the Jewish People." Not to take Notice of less Inaccuracies; who are the People that fay this? The Reader is to suppose that the Caraites fay this. But your Author fays, that (f) in their Opinion who are Astrologers, the Reason of this Delay is owing to the Cause affign'd. It was easy therefore for you to have determined, whether the Caraites founded this Notion on Scripture, or Reason, since, 1st, it is not the Notion of the Caraites; nor 2dly, is it pretended to be founded on either Scripture or Reason, but merely on Astrology. I fear I have faid too much on this Topick, I proceed therefore to your Answer.

You tell me that I "have two Para"graphs concerning what is the Question
"in Debate, which I say is not, whether
"the Jews expected a carnal Messiah, or
"not, —but whether any such Person be
prophesied of in the Old Testament at
all?" I own I think the Question is, Whether any such Person as the Messiah is prophesied

<sup>(</sup>f) Ex sententia eorum qui Astrologia (not Astronomia, as Trigland has render'd it) sunt periti, si moretur Messas ea de causa est quod Stella Sabbati est Stella Israelis. Trigl. Diatribe. p. 160. Wolfius, p. 291.

phesied of at all? And this is first to be determined before we can enquire whether his Dominion be Temporal or Spiritual, or both. Your Answer is, "That you do not understand this:" That "the Term, "Messiah, not being defined by me, has

" no Meaning."

At the same time, tho' you do not understand me, yet "you are satisfied, that "I cannot clearly state any Question "which can be resolved from the literal "Sense of the Old Testament, so as to serve "my Purpose." And that "by my Me-"thod, the Matter to be proved, or the "Thing signified by the Term, Messiah, "will hereby be reduced to nothing." If I ask, why? the Answer is, that I have "ex-"cluded you from making him a Temporal "or Spiritual Person;" from "making "him to arise out of the Jewish Nation;" and that I "have excluded all Consideration "of Time out of his Character.

I much mistake, if I have not spoke explicitly to the Things which are to be consider'd, by saying what I did at large in the two last Paragraphs of my former Letter, which I will re-consider presently. However, what I take to be the Meaning of the Term, Messiah, is, One particular Person, that was foretold by God, to whom he design'd to give a Kingdom, which should never

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never be destroy'd. A great many particular Events were to be brought about by this Person, during his Dominion and Kingdom, for which the Prophets are to be confulted; but I do not name them for this plain Reason, that till it be determined, whether there be any Person prophesied of, to whom a Dominion and Kingdom is to be given, which is all that the Word, Messiah means, it can fignify nothing to talk about what other things he is to do. And for this Reason, I said, "we must search for the No-" tion of a Messiah, in Antiquis Sacer-" dotum Libris, where Tacitus tells us, " it was thought to be contained, i. e. in " the Old Testament." And I will here add, that the Notion of the Meffah, or of one, who should obtain the Dominion over all, was deem'd in Vespasian's time, i. e. about 36 Years after the Death of Christ, to have been vetus & constans opinio, an ancient and constantly received Opinion; whereas you would have it to be no older than Christ's time; with what confiftency do you judge.

The plain Question therefore is, Has God, in the Prophets, any where spoken of a particular Kingdom which he would erect, which should never be destroyed; and of a particular Person, whose Dominion was to be an everlasting Dominion?

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If he has done this, then the natural Enquiry is, who is That Person? And what is That Kingdom? Is this to "make the" Matter to be proved, or the Thing signified by the Term, Messiah, nothing."

You tell us, that "according to Tacitus, we must search the Old Testament for a Prophecy about Vespasian and Titus" for

" that is the Prophecy Tacitus speaks of, who believed in Josephus, or such Jews

" who denied there was to be a Messiah

" to arife out of their Nation, and only thought there was a Prophecy in their

" Books relating to Vespasian and Titus."

But what Authority have you to fay that Tacitus believed in Josephus, or such Jews, who denied that there was to be a a Messiah to arise out of their Nation? Does he say so? Does any one else? No. Tacitus indeed tells some Circumstances of the Taking of Jerusalem, agreeable to what Josephus has related about them. But, supposing them to be true, surely Tacitus might relate them as well as Josephus.

2. Why must "we search for a Prophecy "about Vespasian and Titus." Tacitus, it seems, speaks of a Prophecy which he applies, as others had done, to Vespasian and Titus: i. e. He speaks of some Passage, said to be in the Old Testament, which was thought to belong to them. But as

you have express'd your self, one would be apt to think that one ought to look for an express Passage, where Titus and Vespasian are named by Name in the Old Testament: Which neither Tacitus, nor no one else ever imagined.

You say, that I "mention such Passages, " or rather refer to, and cite a Parcel of "Phrases, and tack 'em together, which

" when confider'd, will be so far from " showing any Notion contained therein,

" to ferve my Purpose, that the very Con-" text every where will show me some-

" thing subversive of it." I answer,

What here you call a "Parcel of "Phrases," are direct distinct Propositions, all affirming some plain full Truths: and consequently they are such as, if salse, may be confuted; nay you your self attempt to confute them, which is evidence that you think them to be Propositions. For who ever went about to consute a Phrase, unless the Dispute be about Propriety of Terms; which you your self never infinuate to be the Case here.

My Words are, "We find Prophecies
of a time when all Nations shall be gathered unto God; when he would set
up a Kingdom that should never be defiroyed; when the Jews should return
to their own Land, and all that see
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"them

" them shall acknowledge them, that they
" are the Seed which the Lord hath bles" sed. These and many other Prophecies

" are represented as to be accomplished by means of some one particular Person,

" who was to reign and prosper, and ex-

" ecute Judgment and Justice upon Earth, " whose Name was to be called the Lord

" our Righteousness: who was to have

" Dominion and Glory, and a Kingdom,

" that all People, Nations, and Langua-

" ges should serve him." &c.

Your Answer to the first of these Prophecies is, "I BELIEVE the Terms, all Na"tions, in the Places where they are to
"be found, never significe the whole.
"World; nor the Terms gathering unto
"God, mean any thing but the gathering
"unto God's House to worship, or to see
"the Jews worship at Jerusalem; which

" gathering is visibly to be accomplished " in a short time after the supposed Pre- diction."

The Contexts which you say are subverfive to my Purposes, are not by you produced; but all that you say to the first Prophecy produced is, I BELIEVE the Terms, all Nations, never signific all the World. Now if they never do signific so, then it only follows that all the World is not to be gathered unto God; which makes nothing nothing against the Point in Hand. As to the other, Gathering to God, I defire you to produce any one Instance in the Old Testament, where it signifies meeting "to " fee the Jews worship at Jerusalem;" or to prove that fuch Places were fulfilled fo

visibly soon after the Prediction.

2. You ask "How does a Prophecy, that " God would fet up a Kingdom that " should never be destroyed, serve your " Purpose, when it does not appear to be " a Tewish Kingdom, nor a remote King-" dom?" I answer, Whether it be a a Tewish Kingdom, or not, is not the Point in Debate. It was to be Kingdom. That it was to be a remote Kingdom, is plain from the time when it was to begin. and that it " took place before the Fews " Expectation of a Messiah can be proved " to have begun," is what is gratis faid by you, and is false in fact, and therefore can never be proved. You enquire,

3. " How does a Prophecy, that when " the Jews shall return to their own " Land, all that see them shall acknow-" ledge them, that they are the Seed " which the Lord hath bleffed, appear " to refer to Times remote from the Times " when that Prophecy was supposed to be " delivered." I answer, Read the Context, and let any Person judge whether

what is there said can be forced to a Time near the Times when the Prophets lived.

Isaiah, lxi. v. 4, &c.

You ask next, " How does it appear, " that these Prophecies before recited are " to be accomplished by some one parti-" cular Person, when sometimes no par-" ticular Person is mentioned, and when " one and the fame Person cannot be. " proved to be meant to be the Agent in " all those Places, where some particular " Agent is mentioned; and when fome-" times that Agent is one Person, some-"times another." I answer, That the Kingdom foretold is to belong to One Perfon and but One, whose Dominion is an everlasting Dominion which shall not pass away, and HIS Kingdom, that which shall not be destroyed. Whereever the Circumstances of Things do point out the Times wherein they are to happen; and one Person is the Supream Lord and Governor in those Times; and no one else is ever mentioned; and the Things to be be done are agreeable to his Character; from hence 'tis reasonable to infer, that that one Person is the Agent referr'd to.

You go on thus, "How does that Person "appear to be the Person, who in Jere- miah is to execute Judgment and Justice on the Earth, who thro' Mistake

you

" you fay is called the Lord our Righte-" oufness?" I answer, That the Prophet is speaking of a Time when the Jews shall be restored to their Land, when they shall fear no more, nor be dismay'd, neither shall they be lacking, faith the Lord. Behold the Days come, faith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute Judgment and Justice in the Earth. In his Days Iudah shall be saved, and Ifrael shall dwell safely, and this is his Name, whereby he shall be called, the Lord our Righteousness. This was never true of the Times of the Return from Babylon, and therefore does not belong to those Times: and 'tis exactly fuitable to the whole Tenor of what the Prophets fay in relation to those Times, when the Jews shall be in Possession of their own Land under the Messiah.

But as to this particular Prophecy of Feremiah, you tell me, I am mistaken in saying that that Person shall be called the Lord our Righteousness; and say, "that that Name, which is but twice used in Feremiah, is in one place the Name of Israel, and in the other, the "Name of the City of Ferusalem, of which it is said, she shall be called, the "Lord

" Lord our Righteousness." In both which Affertions I think the Mistake on your fide. For in the 23d Chapter 'tis not Israel that is to be call'd, the Lord our Righteousness, but the King of whom he is speaking, who is to reign, when Ifrael shall fear no more: And the Construction is, This is his Name by which Judah and Israel shall call him, not Israel be call'd. In the 33d Chapter, v. 15, 16. the Prophet fays, In those Days, and at that Time will I cause the Branch of Righteousness to grow up unto David, and he shall execute Judgment and Righteousness in the Land. In those Days Shall Judah be saved. and Jerusalem Shall dwell safely; and he that shall call her [is] the Lord our Righteoufness; which is the literal Translation of the Place. 7erusalem therefore is not call'd by that Name, as you affert, nor Israel neither.

When you add, "that the Context "fets forth that that Person who is to "execute Judgment, is to reign in Judah "after the Jews return from the Babylo-"nish Captivity, and seems to mean, as "Grotius says, Zerobabel." If you can prove That, why do you cite Grotius, whose Authority you will not take when He is against you; and you know 'tis Argument, not Authority, that I both urge and

and require. However, to shew you that it is not Zarobabel, He never was King of the Jews; in his time neither Juda, nor Israel, nor Jerusalem, dwelt safely; nor are any of the Characters agreeable to him, or his Times; and therefore the Prophet speaks of a time when their Circumstances will agree to some other Person, at whatever Distance of Time, whether sew or many Years from the Times of the Prophet.

All that you fay in your next Paragraph concerning my using Phrases, is to me perfectly unintelligible. I have cited Propositions from the Prophets, and I propose them to your Consideration in what I think is their real Meaning, as the Inspirer of the Prophets intended them. Whether I, or your felf, have pleaded for, or proceed " in, a Mystical " or Surenhusian Method," I am content to leave to the Reader: the Paffages I referr'd to in the Propositions I cited from the Prophets, you know very well, and you have accordingly given the Answer, which, I suppose, you judge to be the strongest; and you need not have " confined me to " the Citations I made Use of in my Let-" ter;" for as I did not defign to recede from them, unless you cou'd have shewn that I had mistaken their Meaning; fo you may eafily perceive that, in my Letter, I cou'd not defign any other thing  $\mathbf{H}$ 

thing, than just to hint, that I thought you had strangely involved the Question, and just to point out to my Reader what

I thought was right.

As to your last Question, " How does " it appear that all the Passages above, " which you fay I must allow do not " prove the Jews Hypothesis of a Tem-" poral Messiah, were the Foundation of " the Jews Notion?" I answer; Whatever Passages were the Foundations of the Jewish Notion of a TEMPORAL Messiah, the Passages I have produced were sufficient Foundations for Them, or for any one else to expect the Messiah, or that Person to whom Dominion (whether that Dominion be Temporal or Spiritual) is promised, and who is foretold, or prophefied of, in the Old Testament. Accordingly I observed that the true Enquiry was, Whether the Authors of the Old Testament have prophesied of some One Person, to whom God has promised a Kingdom and Dominion, and by whom God designed to bring about such and such great Events in the World? If there be fuch Prophecies, this Person is what is meant by the Term, Messiah, and we Christians say that Jesus of Nazareth is that Person.

"This Account, you fay, is too gened ral, and ferves no Purpose without fome

it

" fome more particular Explication of " what I fay. I must name the E-" vents defign'd to be brought about-" and that, by fetting down precifely the " Events. I must also define what I

" mean by Dominion and a Kingdom."

As to Kingdom, I mean what I think the Prophets mean, the Regal Power and Authority of One over many; and by Dominion, I mean the Power of enjoining Laws, and inflicting Penalties, or granting Rewards, according as Subjects obey or disobey Commands. And here I will add, that our Saviour has properly Dominion and a Kingdom. He reigns over his Subjects Supreme above all Kings, nay Kings themselves own him for their Lord and Master. His Laws are superior to all others, and have a prior Obedience paid them. If any Laws in any Chriflian Country are contrary to Christ's Laws, the Subjects of Christ refuse Obedience to them, and will sooner part with Life itself, than pay Obedience to them. The Sanctions of his Laws have the greatest weight above all Sanctions of human Laws. What is Dominion, and what is a Kingdom if this is not?

As to naming more particular Events, which you require, I must say it is nothing to the purpose, unless you are ready to admit the Prophecies of a peculiar King-

H 2

Kingdom and Dominion, promised to a particular Person who was to arise remote from the Times of the Prophets; and then it will be time enough to proceed upon them. But if you do not allow thus much, what's the Use of naming more Particulars?

When therefore you fay, "fuppose " a Christian would prove the Truth of " Christianity to a Deist, and as the first " Article of the Christian Faith would " prove to him the Truth of Jesus be-" ing the Messiah, promised in the Old " Testament; must not the Christian de-" clare to the Deift the full Notion of the " Messiah, so as to make it square to Je-" fus alone"? When you ask this, you ought to tell us what you expect under the full Notion of the Messiah. For if you mean every particular Action that the Messiah has done, or is to do, it may be very hard to do this, and 'tis altogether unnecessary. In the present Enquiry 'tis sufficient to shew, that Jesus was the Person to whom God has given the Dominion which he foretold that he would give. But then to give the full Notion of the Messiah, you must take in not only what is foretold concerning Him in the Old Testament, but likewise what was afterwards revealed in the New? E.g. God will judge the World by the Mefliab,

seal'd in the Gospel, and will enter into the full Notion of the Messiah, as it is discovered to us by Jesus: and yet this can't be prov'd to be a Part of the Messiah's Office from the Old Testament. What therefore is to be proved from the Old Testament, is to be kept distinct from what the New Testament has added; and yet for any one to give the "full No-"tion" of the Messiah, what is said in Both Testaments must be considered.

The Argument for the Truth of Chriflianity is a complex Argument; and neceffarily takes in a great deal more than Prophecy to make it full. To convince a Deift, I apprehend that the Method is this; first to show that God did design in his Wisdom, to send a particular Person into the World, to whom He had promised a Kingdom and Dominion. This I conceive, at least I think thus for my felf, the Foundation of the Expectation of a Messiah. Jesus of Nazareth, when he came into the World, declared himself to be That Person, the King of that Kingdom, which God defigned to erect. But then our Saviour's saying that he was The Christ, o Xpioros, would be nothing, unless he proved himself to be what He pretended. Here therefore the Works of our Lord come in, as a second Part of the

the Argument, whereby he proved himfelf to be what he declared himself. And when these in all their Parts are fully confidered, let the candid and impartial Lover of Truth judge, whether there be not Evidence sufficient to make a Man BELIEVE, (for this is the true scriptural Notion of Faith) that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, John xx. 31. Prophecy must always make a Part of the Argumentation; because the Words, The Messiah, necessarily presuppose it: But then, as The Messiah was to do several things, he must produce such Evidence of his coming from God, that reasonable People might have ground to believe from the Evidence produced, that whatever was to be done, if it were not done at one time, it would be done at another.

I think this Method of Reasoning is so far from being form'd upon what you are pleas'd to call "mere Phrases tacked "together," and "independent Phrases," that you cannot name any one thing capable of being proved from the Old Testament, which I cannot with equal Justice call by the Name of Phrases. If direct and full Assertions, full and clear Propositions, which contain manifest Truths, are to go under the Name of Phrases, pray how many of these must be allowed, before we can arrive at any thing

thing else but Phrases? If one Proposition is but a Phrase with you, are Two, or Two Hundred, or the whole Old Testament any thing but 'Phrases,' 'independent Phrases'? Or is you Letter it self any thing else but 'Phrases tacked together?'

You conclude, that my "Definition " of the Christians Messias is liable to " farther Difficulty". It feems I faid, that He is the Person by whom God will accomplish what he has spoken in the Prophets. This you fay is to " put that " into his Character, which can have no " weight with Deifts; who probably will " not believe in him as characteris'd li-" terally in the Old Testament, that is " yet to accomplish the Things spoken " therein .-- Moreover, they will fay " that the Scheme of making the Messiah " to have feveral Prophecies yet to ac-" complish, may probably be employed " by you --- merely to folve Difficulties, " when you are not able, by the Arts of " Interpretation, to make a Prophecy to " fquare or agree in all its Parts, to the " Persons you would have it referred " to."

To this I say, when several Things at different Times to happen, are foretold concerning a particular Person, no more can be said to be accomplished, than is in Fact done; and the rest must be in Futurity

turity till the Time appointed shall come. When Jesus was upon Earth, He preached the Kingdom of Heaven to be at Hand; but did not preach to the Gentiles: Notwithstanding that the Messiah was prophefied of as a Person that was to be a Light to the Gentiles. Every one must judge from the Characters already fulfilled, whether it is reasonable to believe that other Characters will be likewise fulfilled. The Jews in our Saviour's Time, faw the Miracles which Jesus did; and they heard him declare himself to be That Person that was to come into the World, under the Character of The Christ. They were to judge from what was before them, whether he answer'd the Characters of The Christ, so far as he could in his Time. When afterwards the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles, additional Evidence arose; and People had a greater Degree of Affurance that Tefus was the Christ. When I add, that I believe Jesus will judge the Quick and Dead, or that the Jews will be converted, and will look upon him whom they have pierced :-- This is not as you call it, "merely to folve Difficulties", because I am "not able to make a Prophecy " fquare or agree in all its Parts to the " Person I would refer it to": but it stands thus: -- Jesus professed himself to be the Christ: He appeared in his Life and Actions

Actions to be one approved of God by the Signs and Wonders he did; He has declared that all Judgment is committed to him; God has confirm'd all whatever Jesus has said hitherto; Therefore I believe he will confirm the rest: And if there be any Prophecy, or Part of one, not yet fulfilled, I therefore conceive that God will accomplish it by him, because he has already accomplished much that Jesus said; and I cannot persuade my self that God would have countenanced an Impostor so far, if he would not accomplish what still remains.

Before I conclude, I'll add one thing which may be of some use to remark. The Religion of Nature, and that of Jesus, is exactly the same; the same Duties to be perform'd in both, except that in Christianity we have a particular Institution of what are usually called the Two Sacraments, and we are to pray to God in the Name of Christ. Virtue is the fame in both Cases, of equal Extent, always to be profecuted fleadily and uniformly; and Vice of all kinds is always to be avoided. You will ask then, what is the Difference betwixt the Law of Nature and Christianity? I answer, Every Man, as Man, is subject to the Law of Nature, and accountable for Offences against it. But then, as God has discovered by the Prophets of the Jews, that He did design to send a particular Person into the World, to whom he would

would give Dominion, and through whom he would reward all truly virtuous Perfons; Christians believe Jesus to be that Person: and by Means of the New Testament Revelation, they believe that this Jesus will judge Mankind, will reward every Man according to his Works, will reign till he has fubdued all Enemies under his Feet, and till all Dominions or Ru-1ers shall serve and obey God, &c. I do but just mention these Things, (which will require a more particular Discussion, and which perhaps I may fome time or other lay before the World) that you may judge of Christianity from what the Scriptures have declared to be fuch, and not from any received Systems; That you may see that Christianity is perfectly rational and confistent throughout; That Morality is the fame univerfally; That no Vice is patroniz'd by Christianity; and That whatever Notions prevail that encourage Slaveey, or that are not strictly agreeable to Virtue, Learning, Truth, Liberty, Peace, and Humanity, are not Christian Notions, but the Mistakes of Christians.

I hope, SIR, I have omitted nothing in my Answer to you of any Moment. If I have, upon the least Intimation, you shall hear again from, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

June 24. 1727.

PHILALETHES.

PUBLICATI I

Having said incidentally, that " it could " never be proved that Josephus had no " Expectation of a Messiah that should arise " out of his Nation," You attempt to disprove this Affertion in your Postfcript. 'Tis strange. I think, that you should urge me with the Authority of Bishop Chandler, whose Authority, if you will admit in other Matters, then I'll promife you to admit it in the present. But I affure you, Sir, that tho' I have a great Regard for that Learned Prelate's Authority in proper Points; yet in an Affair of this kind, I neither quote any one to you, whom I defire you to receive merely on that account; nor will I submit to any one whom you shall quote against me. The Passage of Josephus is in Bishop Chandler's Words (if you like them best) thus, 'That which chiefly excited the Jews to War was an 'ambiguous Prophecy, which was found in the Sacred Books, that at that time some one within their Country shou'd arise, that should obtain the Empire of the whole World. For this they had receiv'd (by Tradition) that it was 'spoke of one of their own Nation, and many 'wife Men were deceived with the Interpretation. But in truth, Vespasian's Empire was defigned in this Prophecy, who was created 'Emperor in Judea.' What now is your Comment? 'Herein, say you, he plainly implies ' that the Prophecy, on which some Jews ground-'ed their Notion of a Messias—was mistaken by 'them, and related not to fuch a Person.' i. e. It did not relate to fuch a Person, as they conceiv'd the Messias. Well what then? "It re-"lated to Vespasian, who did not arise out of

Do you not see, Sir, that the Oracle is declared by Jost hus to be ambiguous? Wherein consists its Ambiguity? Certainly in those Words, arise our of their Nation: which either relate to a Jew born; or may mean, as Josephus thought, One that is not a Jew born, but that takes his beginning in their Nation, as Vespasian did who was created Emperor in Judea. Now it Josephus interpreted the ambiguous Oracle in this latter Sense, then it follows plainly,

First, That Josephus had an Expectation of a Messiah that shou'd arise in his Sense out of his

Nation, as well as the other Fews.

Secondly, That supposing he did relinquish the National Notion of a Messias, yet my Assertion is very true, that it can't hence be proved, that Josephus had no Expectation of a Messiah, that shou'd arise out of his Nation. For it is very confishent to relinquish the National Notion, and yet to have some Expectation of a Messiah, as Josephus plainly had, who thought Vespasian to be the Man. Josephus, as well as the other Tews, expected a Messiah; but Fosephus interpreted these Words, and The xweet, from that Country, not as the Other Jews did: They understanding them, as if the Messias were to be born in, Josephus understanding them as if it were sufficient to enter upon his Office, or Empire, in that Country.

## FINIS